

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 310 463

CS 506 798

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TITLE The "Ladies' Home Journal" between 1890 and 1906: The Influence of Its Crusade To Regulate Food and Drug Products.
PUB DATE 1 Apr 89
NOTE 34p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (72nd, Washington, DC, August 10-13, 1989).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Historical Materials (060)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Audience Awareness; Audience Response; *Drug Legislation; *Food Standards; Journalism History; Media Research; *Periodicals; *Persuasive Discourse; Pharmacy
IDENTIFIERS *Ladies Home Journal; *Patent Medicines

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses how "The Ladies' Home Journal" was used by its editor, Edward Bok, in his crusade for food and drug regulation in the United States between the years 1890 and 1906, and whether these efforts were influential in bringing about the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. The first section describes "The Ladies' Home Journal's" crusade against the patent medicine industry--the magazine banned the industry's advertising and published a series of articles exposing the dangers of the products and the unethical sales practices employed by the manufacturers of these products. The following section examines the effectiveness of "The Journal's" campaign, finding that its primary contributions were: (1) the precedent set by its advertising ban; (2) its efforts against "Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup" label, causing a more informative label and eventually leading to the elimination of morphine as an ingredient; (3) the creation of awareness in its readers, and encouragement to take action; and (4) its contribution to President Theodore Roosevelt's awareness of the issue. The third section examines other influences in the food and drug regulation campaign, arguing that it was the efforts of "The Ladies' Home Journal," combined with a plurality of other efforts, which eventually brought about the much-sought-after legislation. One hundred and two notes are included. (SR)

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THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL BETWEEN 1890 AND 1906:

THE INFLUENCE OF ITS CRUSADE TO REGULATE FOOD AND DRUG PRODUCTS

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Submitted to the History Division,
Association for Education in Journalism 1989 Convention,
April 1, 1989

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THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL BETWEEN 1890 AND 1906:
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Introduction:

The Ladies' Home Journal has enjoyed tremendous popularity over the course of its history. Originally a spin-off from the ladies pages of the Tribune and Farmer magazine, the first issue of the Ladies' Journal (its original title) was offered in December of 1883. In 1890 Edward Bok was hired as editor, bringing to the pages of The Journal various causes which he crusaded for over the course of his career.

In the early years of The Journal, America was in a rapid state of change. In 1892 the effects of the Industrial Revolution on America's food supply were being felt by consumers everywhere. As a result of many factors, and in spite of the fact that great fortunes were being made on its manufacture, the quality of the food supply was questionable, at best. Simultaneously, a plethora of patent medicines were thrust at consumers and touted through advertisements to perform miraculous feats, but in reality often posed threats to their health and safety. In the period of social reform which followed, the issue of food and drug safety arose and in time culminated in the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906.

In his autobiography, Edward Bok says that The Ladies' Home Journal was an important influence in bringing about the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 and that it was the first crusading force directed against the patent medicine industry. As Mr. Bok describes this effort:

"Into [the] army of deceit and spurious medicines, The

Ladies' Home Journal fired the first gun. Neither the public nor the patent medicine people paid much attention to the first attacks, but as they grew, and the evidence multiplied, the public began to comment and the nostrum makers began to get uneasy." 1

Research Questions:

The purpose of this analysis is to answer the following research questions:

1) How was The Ladies' Home Journal used by its editor, Edward Bok, in his crusade for food and drug regulation in the United States between the years 1890 and 1906?

2) Were such efforts influential in bringing about the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906?

Justification:

Many of the resources reviewed establish the use of The Journal by Edward Bok as a forum for social reform. Further, many seemingly agree with Bok's own viewpoint, as reflected in his autobiography, that his crusade contained in The Ladies' Home Journal was instrumental in the creation of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906.2

However, in these treatments of Bok's efforts there is nowhere found an analysis that considers other factors which were occurring prior to or simultaneously with those of Bok. Such a combination could be interpreted as the plurality of causes behind the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906.3 This research effort attempts to fill this gap in knowledge by considering all factors which may have been influential.

Literature Review:

The Ladies' Home Journal has been the subject of study by various scholars from a wide variety of perspectives.

Of importance to this study are those works which review the role of The Journal as a forum for the presentation of the social reform ideas of its editor, Edward Bok (see, for instance, Mott, 1957; Peterson, 1964; Presby, 1929; Steinberg, 1979; Sullivan 1927, 1936; Taft, 1982; Tebbel, 1969; Wood 1956, 1958, 1968, 1971, 1973).⁴ In his analysis of the influence that The Ladies' Home Journal has had on advertising in the United States, Scheiner briefly addressed the issue of social reform as one of the editor's objectives.⁵ This study carries these works one step further by examining the specific crusade launched by The Ladies Home Journal against the patent medicine industry. Further, the impact of this effort on the ensuing Food and Drug legislation of 1906 is examined.

Methodology:

In an effort to answer the research questions stated above, the editorial content of the issues of The Ladies' Home Journal from 1890 through 1906 (a total of eighty-four magazines) were analyzed. Such analysis provided the necessary information to answer the first part of the research question. The years 1890 through 1906 were selected as important beginning and ending dates, respectively, for the following reasons:

- 1) In January of 1890 Edward Bok assumed the editorship of The Journal, and,

2) In February of 1906 the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed, bringing the need to crusade for such an action to an end.

This time frame, then, is used to provide the boundaries for a chronicle of the actions taken by Bok in his crusade against the patent medicine industry.

In order to answer the second research question, other possible influences which contributed to the passage of the Food and Drug Act of 1906 (along with the efforts of The Ladies' Home Journal) have been identified and described.

The Ladies' Home Journal Crusade:

In 1889, when Bok took over as editor, The Journal had a circulation of 400,000.⁶ In 1904 it became the first popular mass magazine to reach a circulation level of 1,000,000.⁷ It was an extremely popular magazine with a circulation envied by others in the industry. According to Wood, "Bok had built a magazine with a large audience which felt itself closely connected to the editor and his paper. The Ladies' Home Journal had become known as the monthly Bible of the American Home."⁸

This popularity is evidenced by the large response from readers to various departments in the magazine. The Journal encouraged its readers to correspond with their magazine on a wide variety of topics and to consider the magazine an intimate friend. They responded by telling it their problems and receiving answers through such departments as "Side Talks with Girls," "Heart to Heart Talks," "Side Talks with Boys," and "At

Home with the Editor," to name only a few.⁹ Responses from readers were elicited in other ways, too. Competitions were conducted that brought in thousands of photographs, scholarships were offered, subscription drives initiated, surveys were conducted, and communication with legislators on issues of public affairs were encouraged, all of which gently motivated readers to action.¹⁰

Bok believed that the power of the magazine lay in its readers. It has been said that his goal for The Journal was not to attack the evils of the day but rather to awaken the readers to the tremendous possibilities of influencing with personal power.¹¹

And awaken he did. The first installment of "Side Talks with Girls" resulted in seven hundred letters from readers. Over the next sixteen years this department received more than 158,000 letters from readers seeking solutions to their intimate problems.¹² The response to other departments was equally impressive. For example, by the time that Bok retired as editor in 1917, The Journal was receiving one million letters per year from readers.¹³ Further, in 1890 The Journal received 15,205 manuscripts for consideration as literary inclusions from writers hoping to be one of the lucky few selected to entertain the readers of The Ladies' Home Journal.¹⁴

There is no question that The Journal had the ear of its large audience. It has been said that Bok's talent was not only

in his ability to create a large audience, but also in his ability to maintain it.¹⁵

The Journal catered almost exclusively to the values and attitudes of the middle class woman.¹⁶ The middle class was flourishing at the turn of the century and Bok and his staff knew how to capture their interest and keep it.¹⁷ The "Journal woman" was always busy and seemingly content--baking, doing needlework, managing a household, raising children, or taking care of her husband.¹⁸

Behind this facade of tranquility, however, she was faced with stress from a changing society. The safe and secure world of Victorian morals was changing, requiring her to evaluate her behavior and beliefs. In addition, the Industrial Revolution had created many unfortunate ills, all of which beckoned to her for attention.¹⁹

There were causes everywhere. Cries for Socialism brought attention to the predicament of the poor, the problems of child labor, labor struggles, women in the workplace and corruption in government and industry. The women's suffrage movement was eminent and it required the middle class woman to take a good hard look at what she believed, rather than what her husband or father would have her believe.²⁰

Further, the rapid growth and development of technology during the Industrial Revolution had not been kind to the food industry. In years before food was either grown, processed, preserved and stored at home, or purchased from family friends

who ran local bakeries, butcher shops and general stores. There was no reason to question the quality of the food purchased because the steps from producer to consumer were fully visible to all.²¹ The Industrial Revolution changed all of this; the growth in big business had resulted in a large, impersonal food chain where producer and manufacturer were far removed and unknown to the ultimate consumer.

Just as the move from small and intimate to large and impersonal affected the food industry, it also provided opportunities for the growth of the patent medicine industry. The impersonality of buying through the mails or from unknown retailers enabled the nostrum manufacturers to offer a myriad of mysterious pills, syrups, tonics and powders all promising miraculous performance.

In 1892 Edward Bok declared war on this industry by announcing that The Journal would no longer accept advertisements for patent medicines. Although it was not a totally unprecedented move (discussion on others who took such actions will follow) it was the first time that a magazine of The Journal's magnitude had implied the unworthiness of patent medicines.²²

Whether or not the nostrum advertisements were a crucial source of advertising income for The Journal prior to 1892 has been debated by various scholars.²³ It is not the purpose of this paper to determine the financial effect that such a move had on The Journal. What is important to this thesis is the fact

that nostrum advertisements were a significant part of the advertising income for many publications during this time, and the precedent set by The Journal created the motivation for others to find creative ways to follow suit and remain profitable.²⁴

It was felt that something needed to be done to cause the average publication of the late 1800's to refuse such lucrative advertising. It was well accepted by magazine and newspaper publishers that these advertisements were a detriment to the development of legitimate accounts. Nevertheless, publications were entrenched in their need for the income.²⁵ Presby stated that "[t]he first big reform gun was fired in 1892 when The Ladies' Home Journal announced that it would print no more medical advertising."²⁶ Other magazines followed this lead and within ten years a substantial list of newspapers and magazines existed that barred all medicine advertisements or, at the very least, screened them for credibility.²⁷

The exclusion of patent medicine advertisements was a quiet beginning in what developed into an aggressive war between The Journal and the nostrum manufacturers. The real campaign began in May of 1904 when Bok devoted his popular editor's page to an article entitled "The Patent Medicine Curse."²⁸ This article included a list of thirty-six commonly used nostrums along with the results of chemical analyses which revealed the alcohol content of each. Bok used this information to appeal to the maternal instinct of mothers who had been administering these

drugs to their infants and the morals of Christians hoping, in each case, to encourage his readers to refrain from using these products. Further, he called for action against the manufacturers of such products, specifically challenging the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) to join the crusade.²⁹

The campaign continued relentlessly, with a further address to the WCTU for action on this issue,³⁰ and articles entitled "Why Patent Medicines are Dangerous,"³¹ "A Diabolical 'Patent Medicine' Story,"³² "A Danger in Illinois,"³³ and "The Inside Story of a Sham."³⁴ In September of 1905 Bok shocked his readers with a full page of photographs revealing a variety of fraudulent practices.³⁵ For example, users of "Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound" had been encouraged to write to Mrs. Pinkham for many years to share their most intimate medical problems and receive a personal response from her. Bok revealed the absurdity of such advertising by placing a copy of the advertisement next to a picture of Mrs. Pinkham's gravestone stating that she had been dead for twenty-two years!³⁶ He also exposed false testimonial letters from influential political leaders as well as the deceptive practice of the nostrum companies to "sell" the letters received from customers "under the strictest confidences" to other companies who might prey upon them. In addition, he published the English version of the label on "Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup," a product marketed in both England and the United States. English law required a full disclosure of contents on the label. The English version of the label revealed

morphine as an ingredient and required the following statement on the label: "in accordance with the Pharmacy Act [this product is] hereby labelled POISON".37

Bok's campaign continued throughout 1904, 1905 and well into 1906. He exposed unethical practices of patent medicine companies, such as their tendency to laugh at and circulate the letters written to them from consumers in the strictest confidence.38 In one issue Bok included an editorial in which President Theodore Roosevelt stated his negative views on patent medicines.39

Mark Sullivan, a Harvard law school graduate who joined The Journal in 1904, continued the attacks against the patent medicine industry. The articles were forceful, factual, well-written, to the point and, as discussed above, directed to a huge and trusting audience who saw their Journal as a "monthly Bible."40

Determining the Effectiveness of the Campaign:

It has, therefore, been established that the campaign put forth by The Journal from 1904 through 1906 was well-planned and executed. Attention must now be turned to the determination of effectiveness. In other words, did the crusade have any effect on the ensuing Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906?

According to Bok, The Journal kept up the fight "single-handedly" for over two years and the results were apparent. As a result of the crusade, reputable newspapers and magazines closed their pages to the advertisements of patent medicines and

legislation was appearing in several states. "The public had been awakened to the fraud practiced upon it, and a Federal Pure Food and Drug Act was beginning to be talked about."⁴¹ Several authors, in support of this claim, state that the National Food and Drug Act of 1906 was a result of the crusading efforts of The Ladies' Home Journal and Collier's Weekly.⁴²

In addition, The Ladies' Home Journal has been credited by scholars for its actions to motivate the Women's Christian Temperance Union into action against periodicals that published advertisements for patent medicines containing as high as 40% alcohol.⁴³

Perhaps the strongest evidence that exists in determining the effectiveness of The Journal's campaign is the statement made by Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, the "father of the food and drug legislation," who stated in his autobiography that Bok's efforts in The Ladies' Home Journal "effectively aided in awakening the country to the disgraceful situation."⁴⁴

The greatest contribution, then, that The Journal could have made was in its ability to motivate its readers to action. Evidence of this being accomplished is contained in Wiley's praise for The Ladies' Home Journal for being the first publication to take up the effort against the nostrum industry. He believed that The Journal was an influence in the passage of the food and drug legislation due to the fact that it created awareness on the part of the public.⁴⁵

In 1906, Bok successfully used the Editor's Page to appeal to his readers to support a Legislative Bill relative to the patent medicine issue. In his words,

"We called upon you last month to help us in the "patent medicine" matter by seeing that the Legislative Bill we submitted to you should be introduced, and ... the indications are that you have again responded, and with a will."46

The response on the part of The Journal readers was, according to a message written by Bok to his readers in the October 1906 issue, effective in creating a demand for action on the part of Legislators

"[a]s to the Pure Food Bill, the part that our readers took was again notable and effective...when the Pure Food Bill came up before Congress and the Senate, once more our readers wrote by the thousands to their Senators and Congressmen that they expected them to vote for the Bill."47

As further evidence of The Journal's impact on the patent medicine issue, the publication of the English version of the label for "Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup" (described earlier)48 appears to have forced the manufacturer to publish its formula on the label in America as it had been doing in England. Samuel Adams of Collier's Weekly believed that The Journal's action was directly responsible for this development. He states that the nostrum manufacturer "soon dropped out the morphine content rather than label it."49

Based on the evidence presented, it can be said that the crusade of The Ladies' Home Journal did play an influencing role in the fight against the patent medicine industry. Contrary to

Bok's assertions, however, it cannot be said that The Journal was a single cause--or even the most important cause--in this fight because there were also many other forces at work which undoubtedly played influencing roles.

Other Influences in the Crusade:

An examination of Congressional records, the history of Food and Drug legislation in the United States, the activities of other publications and organizations and the autobiography of Dr. Harvey Wiley indicates that while The Journal did contribute to the eventual enactment of pure food and drug legislation, there were at least sixteen other important forces at work which likewise served as influences. Furthermore, some of these forces were at work prior to the crusade launched within the pages of The Journal.

It is difficult to determine a chronological order of the events which related to the call for pure food and drug legislation because many important activities were occurring simultaneously in various parts of the country. As early as January 3, 1884 the Republican ran an article entitled "Quackery and Vice; Advertisements that Encourage Crime."⁵⁰ This editorial was directed at the advertisements for aphrodisiacs and cures for venereal diseases which were found in most British and American magazines at that time. Author Samuel Bowles (II) spared no words in his attack:

"Is it possible to any way waken the attention of the good and the right-minded to the mischiefs of quackery in general, and of this particular form of quackery, whose object is the encouragement of vice and immorality?

What matters it that they do not perform what they promise? Their deluded victims are none the less led on to their destruction, the unwary lured, the vicious encouraged, the innocent ruined."51

Bowles continued, addressing another important issue that continued to cloud the patent medicine advertisement controversy for many years; patent medicine advertisements represented an important source of income for the press.⁵² As a result, the idea of refusing such advertisements on the basis of altruism was a difficult one and one which was not faced by many newspapers or magazines for several years.⁵³

The New York Herald was one of the first newspapers on record to address the issue of a policy statement relative to patent medicine advertising. In 1865, The Herald announced that "all objectionable medical advertisements will be rigorously excluded from this paper as soon as existing contracts have expired."⁵⁴ However, another author adds that this policy was actually applied only to the most objectionable copy.⁵⁵ In 1860 The American Agriculturist announced that it would exclude all deceptive advertisements, a category which included many of the patent medicines advertisements.⁵⁶ In a similar move, a Philadelphia magazine proclaimed that it would guarantee the reliability of the advertisers using its columns.⁵⁷

It appears, then, that The Ladies' Home Journal was not the first to employ a ban on patent medicine advertisements, as Bok claimed in his autobiography.

During the 1880's several periodicals began protecting their readers from fraudulent advertising. Gradually the reliance on "caveat emptor" was abandoned by the "better class of periodicals" so that by the end of the century, obvious frauds and fakes were prohibited by most reputable magazines.⁵⁸

In an innovative effort to encourage reader participation, the American Grocer magazine offered \$1,000 for the best essay on food adulteration accompanied by a draft for a proposed bill to correct the problem. The prize was ultimately awarded to an English Scientist whose essay had "a deep effect on subsequent legislation on the subject."⁵⁹

Some magazines appeared to follow the "do-as-I-say-and-not-as-I-do" philosophy. For example, Brann's Iconoclast magazine rallied against the nostrum industry in its April 1896 issue. Ironically, however, in the same issue were advertisements for "Veno's Electric Fluid," which was claimed to be the "only medicine that will make cripples walk," and Veno's Curative Syrup, "warranted to cure malarial fever, nervousness, dyspepsia, liver, kidney, blood and stomach disorders, sleeplessness and bad appetite."⁶⁰

Women's magazines in particular proved to be a popular medium for crusades. One author believes that the women's magazines "gave women [who had not attained voting rights] an opportunity to express their opinions and the opportunity to see their opinions acted upon."⁶¹ Patent medicines represented only one of several issues addressed by these magazines. In the

September 18, 1886 issue of Good Housekeeping magazine an editorial appeared entitled "Guard Against Adulteration." While the magazine continued its testimony against abuses in the sale of foods, it also continued to advertise proprietary medicines.⁶² However, with a circulation of only 25,000 in 1891 (compared to The Journal's circulation of 600,000 at that time) the reach of such a campaign is minor compared to those of larger magazines.⁶³

Another important influence in the 1880's was the experimental work being done by Dr. W.O. Atwater. Dr. Atwater developed advances in scientific technology and methods which allowed for the detection of the degree of digestibility and assimilation of foods. His work attracted much public attention.⁶⁴

In 1900 Good Housekeeping started testing laboratories for all products advertised within its pages and by 1902, the magazine accepted only advertisements for those products that won its approval. Further, each issue included a money-back guarantee of the reliability of every advertisement in Good Housekeeping.⁶⁵ From this testing procedure, a "Roll of Honor of Pure Food Products" developed which assured consumers of purity.⁶⁶

By 1905-6 the issue of pure food and drug products was on the public's mind and, therefore, prominent in many publications. Muckrakers attacked the issue strongly in an effort to reveal "all the interests hostile to pure food and drug legislation."⁶⁷

This period of time was rife with the Progressive movement toward social reform and the food industry was a prime target.⁶⁸

Contemporaneously, farmers had long been involved in the call for legislation. Their involvement began with a demand to regulate the sale of oleomargarine, which the dairy farmers felt was a deceptive butter imitation and a threat to their future income. Where dairy farmers were politically powerful, they caused the formation of agricultural departments (at the state level) that included chemists and law enforcement staffs to ferret out imitations of butter as well as adulterated butter products. These moves led to a curiosity of other adulterated foods, substitutes for food products and ultimately an interest in drugs and medicines. By 1900, several states had food and drug departments devoted to the analysis of food and drug products on sale.⁶⁹

It is likely that a combination of all of these activities were responsible for the score of petitions, resolutions and memorials requesting a remedy to the alleged "deplorable conditions" existing in the manufacture and sale of food products which deluged the third session of the 46th Congress (December 1880 through March 1881).⁷⁰

In 1898 the National Pure Food and Drug Congress provided a forum where scientists, doctors, women's groups and businessmen came together to discuss the impending food and drug problems.⁷¹ The following year General Nelson A. Miles created a public stir when he described the meat products which had been supplied to

the soldiers fighting in the Spanish-American War as "embalmed beef" because of their high concentration of preservatives and general impalatability.⁷²

By this time a variety of food bills had been considered by Congress, each forcing important investigations. Although very few of these pieces of legislation passed during the early years of this movement, they tended to throw a "searchlight on the subject."⁷³

It was at this point in the history of the pure food and drug crusade that its most important player arrived on the scene. In 1883, Dr. Harvey Washington Wiley was appointed Chief Chemist of the Department of Agriculture in Washington, D.C. after an illustrious career elsewhere. He spent his entire career fighting for pure food in the United States.⁷⁴ Dr. Wiley was articulate, intelligent and dramatic and applied these skills to launch a campaign of public education.⁷⁵ He believed that if consumers were informed about the problems in the food supply, the resulting public outcry would result in reform.

He carried out his campaign in a variety of ways. He wrote bulletins which were widely distributed,⁷⁶ exposed the role of the commercial chemists employed by nostrum companies,⁷⁷ and engaged a "Poison Squad" of volunteers who acted as subjects for scientific experiments which conclusively proved that certain preservatives used in foods were harmful to one's health, to name only a few.⁷⁸

With such methods, Wiley was able to gain the complete confidence of the public. He was seen as a crusader against tough enemies, including big business and corrupt legislators who were controlled by special interests. Food manufacturers fought Wiley through legislation as well as through his superiors at the Department of Agriculture. To all he responded, "[t]ell the truth on the label and let the consumer judge for himself."⁷⁹ Once he had gained the confidence of the people, he was called upon by Congress for technical advice and guidance in their efforts to sift through the voluminous technical information before them related to the various pieces of food and drug legislation.⁸⁰ Dr. Wiley made a major contribution as a witness in the testimony relative to the "Adulteration of Food Products."⁸¹ While he was only one of 196 witnesses, he was called upon by Congress for testimony which totaled 48 pages of the 641 page report. This input represented by far the greatest amount of testimony taken from any one individual.

There were still other influences. Women, both in organized groups and as individuals, were important to this cause. They had lived through the move from the village where food was locally grown and prepared to the city where the opposite was true. As a result, they knew high quality, pure food when they saw it and knew that in post-industrial America they were not seeing much of it. Food had become mysterious and mistrusted. Both Dr. Wiley and women's magazines recognized the powerful force which rested in the hands of women and each set out to

motivate them to action. Wiley had influenced Miss Alice Lakey, who then "infected" the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs, the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Consumer's League.⁸² She later became a member of a committee of six who met with President Theodore Roosevelt to gain his endorsement for the Food and Drug Bill.

The influence of women in this crusade cannot be ignored or minimized. In fact in 1942, "[i]t was said that the women of the country accomplished more in this campaign for pure food without votes than they ha[d] accomplished since 1919 with votes."⁸³ By providing support for Dr. Wiley's work and adopting his crusade, they managed to pressure Congress and, therefore, influenced the subsequent vote.⁸⁴

Another important player was the American Medical Association. By 1901 the American Medical Association had become the most powerful professional association in the world. The Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA) published a series of articles in 1900 which attacked the patent medicine industry. In 1901, the JAMA announced that it would not accept advertisements for any medications also offered through newspapers.⁸⁵ In 1905 the "Council on Pharmacy and Chemistry" was developed as a reference committee to examine and report on drugs.⁸⁶

When the Pure Food and Drug Act was, after much delay, seriously considered in 1906, the AMA applied pressure to Senator Nelson W. Alderich (R.I.), a serious opponent of the bill and one

who had previously been successful in its delay. The AMA mobilized the support of its members, their patients and friends to apply pressure to the opposition. As a result, the opposition in the Senate collapsed and the Food and Drug Legislation was finally passed.⁸⁷

In the meantime, the official chemists from many states organized to form the National Association of State Dairy and Food Departments to fight the food manufacturers who had been a powerful opposition to food and drug legislation. It was their ambition to see a national law passed in order to regulate interstate commerce of adulterated food products.⁸⁸ Their efforts to expose the work of the commercial chemists who worked for the food manufacturers resulted in advanced techniques for food analysis in order to discover food adulterants.⁸⁹

An unexpected positive impact came when the secretary of the Association of State Chemists managed to obtain a copy of a report of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association which revealed that the liquor dealers had manipulated several members of Congress in order to prevent the passage of various food and drug protection bills. The Chemists distributed a copy of the report to each Senator. As a result, the report became a focus of discussion in the debates on the issue, was printed in the Congressional Record, and was carried by several newspapers. This incident became "a powerful agency for the Pure Food law, frightening some Congressional henchmen of the liquor interests,

or by its illumination to the public, releasing others from subservience."90

As public interest and Congressional debate heated up on the issue, an important event took place which pushed the food and drug bill even closer to becoming law. In 1904 the St. Louis Exposition offered an opportunity which was cleverly seized by the proponents of pure food and drug laws. The Exposition included displays from food manufacturers who exhibited "practically every brand and variety of canned and bottled goods manufactured in the United States."91 Pure Food workers took samples of artificially colored foods, extracted the dye, and used it to dye pieces of wool and silk. To each sample of cloth they attached a chemists' certificate explaining the nature of the dye and the name of the food from which it had been taken. These samples were assembled and exhibited immediately next to the exhibits of the food manufacturers. On the effect of the exhibit, one author has stated that it was "one of the most effective bits of propaganda ever achieved, for pure food or for any other purpose."92 A worker at the exhibit was quoted as saying that the it "ha[d] kindled a fire of public interest which no power on earth [would] be able to rub out."93

As discussed above, The Ladies' Home Journal had been involved in its campaign against patent medicines for two years before the Collier's Weekly staff joined it in its crusade in 1905. In 1906 Mark Sullivan moved from The Ladies' Home Journal,

where he had played an important role in the patent medicine issue, to join the crusade at Collier's.⁹⁴

Ultimately, the Collier's series of fifteen articles entitled "The Great American Fraud" (written by Samuel Hopkins Adams) became a very strong voice in the call for food and drug regulation.

In one powerful piece, Adams reproduced a coroner's report regarding the death of a two-year-old which included the following statement:

"Deceased came to her death from the poisonous effects of opium, the result of drinking the contents of a bottle of Doctor Bulls's Cough Syrup. It would be conducive to the safety of the public at large if it were required by law that all proprietary remedies containing poisonous drugs be labelled with a caution, or better still, with a formula showing the dangerous ingredients and the proper antidotes. Had the bottle been so labelled in this instance, the life of this child could probably have been saved."⁹⁵

The Collier's series was praised by scores of states and national medical societies and reportedly was responsible for much of the activity at the local level relative to food and drug safety.⁹⁶

The Ladies' Home Journal and Collier's Weekly are both credited by many authors as the leading periodicals in the campaign against the nostrum manufacturers. Most authors, however, credit the Collier's series as being the more influential of the two.⁹⁷

Yet another very important influence in the passage of the food and drug legislation was a muckraking book--The Jungle--

written by Upton Sinclair in 1906, the same year that the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed. While Sinclair did not intend his book as a reform mechanism for the food and drug situation, he included such a devastating description of the meat packing houses of Chicago that the indignation of the public was aroused. The Meat Inspection Law of 1906 is often directly attributed to the reaction to this novel.⁹⁸ When Mark Sullivan later wrote Our Times (in 1936) he said that

"The Jungle indeed, was merely the final spectacular, fictionistic climax to a long agitation that had been carried on in solid and convincing ways by patient investigators, food chemists in the employ of the State and Federal Governments, journalists of the exact-minded muckraker type, leaders of women's clubs and other reformers and altruists."⁹⁹

Perhaps the greatest achievement which can be attributed to The Jungle is the fact that it served as an important motivating force behind President Theodore Roosevelt's endorsement of the Pure Food and Drug Act.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion:

It is now possible to address both of the research questions posited above:

1) How was The Ladies' Home Journal used by its editor, Edward Bok, in his crusade for food and drug regulation in the United States between the years 1890 and 1906; and,

2) Were such efforts influential in bringing about the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906?

In answer to the first part of the question, it has been shown that Edward Bok used The Ladies' Home Journal to create an

awareness on the part of his readers of the patent medicine issue, and to motivate them to join the crusade for food and drug regulation. Bok accomplished these objectives by:

- 1) employing a ban on patent medicine advertising, and,
- 2) publishing a series of articles designed to expose the dangers involved in the use of nostrums as well as the unethical sales practices employed by the manufacturers of these products.

Attention is now turned to the second part of the research question, "were such efforts influential in bringing about the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906?"

Based on the evidence presented above, The Journal did serve as an influencing factor--albeit indirect--in the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act. Its primary contributions can be summarized in four ways:

- 1) The advertising policy relative to patent medicines set a precedent for large, reputable magazines and newspapers to follow. As other publications adopted similar policies, the nostrum industry had fewer channels of communication with consumers.

- 2) With its treatment of the "Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup" label, The Journal caused a more informative label to be affixed to the product and eventually to the elimination of morphine as an ingredient.

- 3) The crusade of The Journal created an awareness and encouraged action on the part of its readers. By so doing it contributed to the public outcry which eventually was an important factor motivating Legislators to action.

- 4) The crusade contributed to President Theodore Roosevelt's awareness of the patent medicine issue. His later appeal to Congress to pass the Food and Drug legislation was an important influence.

While these efforts of The Journal were important, it has been established herein that they were not the sole cause behind

the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. In fact, it is unlikely that they were even the primary cause. Rather, the various events described above as "other influences" along with the efforts of Bok through the pages of The Journal combined to create the plurality of causes which eventually brought about the much sought after legislation. Each of these events played an important part, as summarized by Mark Sullivan in Our Times:

"In the end the exposures of the packers by Roosevelt's commission, the wholesale liquor dealers by themselves, of the patent medicines by The Ladies' Home Journal and Collier's, of food adulteration and dying by Dr. Wiley and state and city food officials--the aggregate of all that worked into the strengthening of Roosevelt's hand, and was invincible."101

Schaefer describes this interaction as each cause having an antecedent cause, building a "chain of causes."102 The actions of The Journal were one cause in many. It is doubtful, therefore, that the crusade of The Journal could have served as a sole cause to the food and drug regulation which eventually came to be.

ENDNOTES

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3. Robert Jones Schaefer, A Guide to Historical Method (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1980), 27.
4. See, for example, Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines 1885-1905 Vol. IV., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957); Theodore Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958); Frank Presby, The History and Development of Advertising, (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc. 1955); Salme Haijer Steinberg, Reformer in the Marketplace: Edward Bok and The Ladies' Home Journal, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979); Mark Sullivan, Our Times, 1, The Turn of the Century (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927); Mark Sullivan, Our Times, 2, America Finding Herself, (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1982); William H. Taft, American Magazines for the 1980's, (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1982); John Tebbel, The American Magazine: A Compact History, (New York: Hawthorne Books, Inc., 1969); James Playsted Wood, The Curtis Magazines, (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1971); James Playsted Wood, The Great Glut, (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, Inc., 1973); James Playsted Wood, Magazines in the United States, (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1956); James Playsted Wood, The Story of Advertising, (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1958); and James Playsted Wood, This is Advertising, (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1968).
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8. James Playsted Wood, Magazines in the United States (New York: The Ronald Press, 1956), 113.
9. John Tebbel, The Media in America (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1974), 338.
10. Daniel Pope, The Making of Modern Advertising (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1955), 399.
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14. Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines 1885-1905, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 39.
15. John Tebbel, The American Magazine: A Compact History (New York: Hawthorne Books, Inc., 1969), 183.
16. Mott, A History of American Magazines, 2:542.
17. Steinberg, 16.
18. Steinberg, xvi.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Richard T. Ely, "The Needs of the City," in The Annals of America, vol. 11, 1884-1894, Agrarianism and Urbanization, ed. William Benton (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 1968), 50.
22. Pope, 190.
23. See Scheiner: 12, and Steinberg: 19.
24. R.L. Schuyler and Ward T. James, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, vol. 9, supplements 1 & 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), 92.
25. Frank Presby, The History and Development of Advertising (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1929), 531.

26. Mott, A History of American Magazines, 531.
27. See Presby, pg. 532, Bok, pg. 343.
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29. Ibid.
30. The Ladies' Home Journal, Vol. 21, 10 (September 1904), 18; Bok, "A Few Words to the W.C.T.U."
31. The Ladies' Home Journal, Vol. 22, 4 (March 1905), 18; Bok, "Why Patent Medicines are Dangerous."
32. The Ladies' Home Journal, Vol. 22, 5 (April 1905), 20; Bok, "A Diabolical 'Patent Medicine' Story."
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35. The Ladies' Home Journal, Vol 22, 10 (September 1905), 15; Bok, "Pictures that Tell Their Own Stories."
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39. The Ladies' Home Journal, Vol. 23, 5 (April 1906), 21; Bok, "Mr. Roosevelt's Views on 'Patent Medicines'".
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41. Bok, 343.
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97. See Mott, A History of American Magazines, vol. 4, 248; Presby, 534; Regier, 181; Sullivan, Our Times, vol. 2, 529; Wilson, 246.
98. Wilson, 28.
99. Sullivan, Our Times, vol. 2, 483.
100. Sullivan, Our Times, vol. 2, 536.
101. Sullivan, Our Times, vol. 2, 549.
102. Schaefer, 27.